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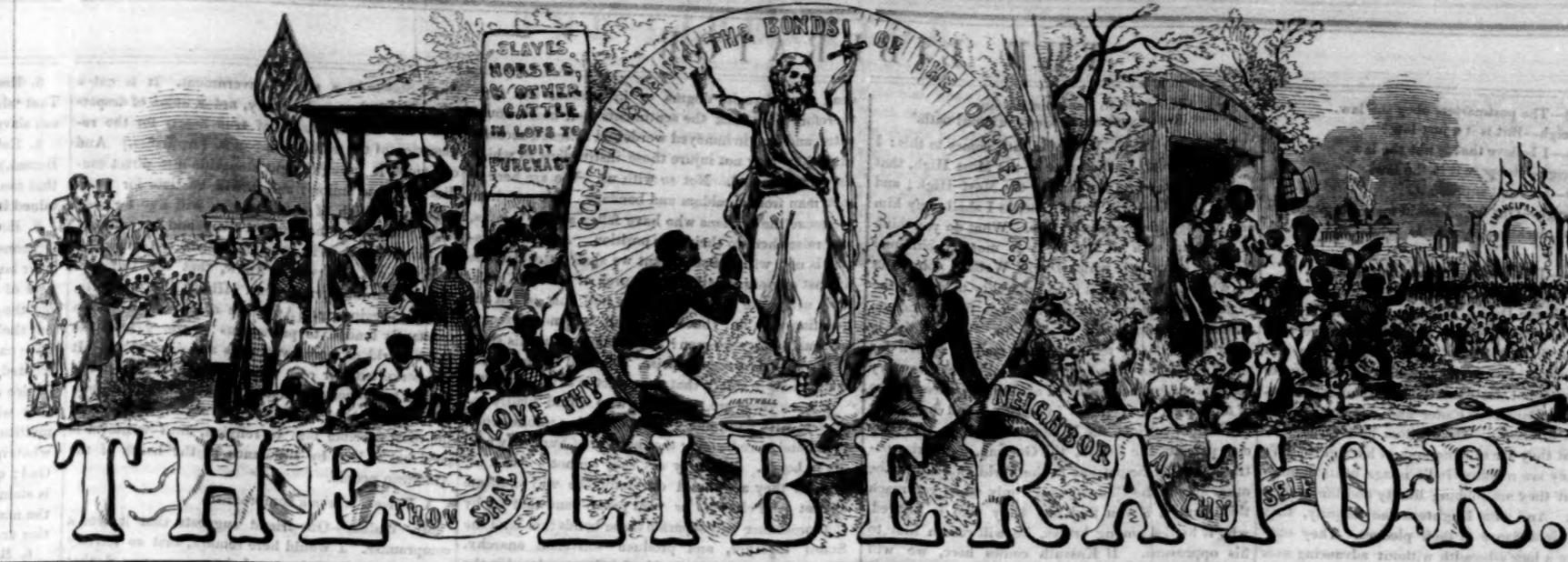
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W.M. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.



THE LIBERATOR.

OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD—OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND.

J. B. YERRINGTON & SON, PRINTERS.

VOL. X. NO. 23.

BOSTON, MASS., FRIDAY, JUNE 7, 1850.

WHOLE NO. 1013.

Refuge of Oppression.

SURRENDER OF FUGITIVE SLAVES.

LETTER OF MR. WEBSTER.

Correspondence between the Citizens of Newburyport, Mass., and Senator Webster.

LETTER OF THE CITIZENS OF NEWBURYPORT.

NEWBURYPORT, April 8, 1850.

To the Hon. Wm. H. WEBSTER: We address you from the pens of the citizens of Newburyport, recently delivered by you in the Senate of the United States, on the great topic of the day.

We desire it may temper, the liberal and conservative sentiments it expresses; and the unanswerable power of analysis and exposition with which it argues and maintains the true principles of the Constitution.

We hope, especially, the courageous patriotism which pervades it, recalling to a due sense of their constitutional obligations the North, as well as the South.

We therefore beg you to accept our heartfelt thanks for the pre-eminent service you have now so performed, toward preserving and strengthening our National Union.

We have the honor to subscribe ourselves, with due pleasure, your friends and constituents.

Signed by EDWARD S. RAND, W. B. BANISTER, JESSE FOOTE, and 300 other citizens of Newburyport.

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MR. WEBSTER'S REPLY.

WASHINGTON, May 15, 1850.

GENTLEMEN—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, of the 8th of April, upon the sentiments of my speech, delivered in the Senate on the 7th of March last. An consideration of opinion prevails in Massachusetts on the subject of that speech, it is grateful to report, in a ratio to respectably and numerously signed opinions so decidedly concurring with my own. Circumstances have occurred, within the last twenty years, to create a new degree of feeling among the people on the subject of slavery; and from being considered, as it was at the adoption of the Constitution, mainly as a political question, it has come to be regarded, with unusual warmth, as a question of religion and humanity. It is obvious enough that the Government of the United States has controlled over slavery, as it exists in the several States, in proper jurisdiction, in this respect, is confined to our Territories, except so far as it is its duty to see that part of the Constitution which respects the surrender of fugitive slaves be carried fairly and directly into execution.

The Constitution of the United States, in the 2d section of the 4th article, declares:

A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of him.

No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

The provision of the Constitution seems to have met with little exception or opposition, or none at all, as far as I know, in Massachusetts. Every body seems to have regarded it as necessary and proper.

The members of the Convention of that State for adopting the Constitution were particularly jealous of every article and section which might in any degree encroach on personal liberty. Every page of their debates evinces this spirit. And yet I do not remember that one of them found the least fault with this provision. The opponents and deriders of the Constitution of this day sharper eyes in discerning dangers to liberty than Gen. Thompson, or Mr. Seawell, and Major Nason, had, in 1775; and others of John Hancock, Samuel Adams, and those very eminent men who were delegates to that Convention from Newburyport—Rufus King, Benjamin Franklin, Theophilus Parsons, and Jonathan

The last clause, quoted above, it may be worth while to remark, was borrowed, in substance, from the celebrated ordinance of 1777, which was drawn up by that great man of our own country, and a contemporary of yours, Nathan Dane.

Mr. Dane had very venerable New England ancestry for inserting this provision in the ordinance which he prepared.

In the year 1803, there was formed a confederation between the four New England colonies, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New-Haven; and in the sixth article of that confederation it is stipulated, as follows, viz.—

"It is also agreed, that if any servant run away from his master into any other of these confederated states, that, in such cases, upon the certificate of the said magistrate, or upon other due proof, the said servant shall be delivered, either to his master, or any other that pursue, and bring such certificate or

and all costs and expenses, incurred by arresting, securing, or transmitting the fugitive, shall be paid by the State or territory making the demand. And that my agent who shall receive such fugitive into his custody shall be authorized to transport him to the State or Territory from which he fled. And any person, rescuing or setting such person at liberty, shall, on conviction, be fined not exceeding five hundred dollars, and be imprisoned not exceeding one year.

The two last sections of the act respect persons held to labor in any of the United States or Territories, escaping into any other State or Territory. The former is to make further effect to the provisions of the act of 1793. And this is the cause of the introduction into the Senate of a bill on the subject, recently, by the Committee on the Judiciary.

Notwithstanding all that may be said by shallow men, ignorant men, and factious men—men whose only hope of making or of keeping themselves conspicuous is by incessant agitation, and the most reckless efforts to alarm and misguide the people, I know of no persons, in or out of Congress, who wish anything more to be done on the subject of fugitives from service, than what is essentially necessary, in order to meet the requirements of the Constitution, and accomplish the objects of the act of Congress of 1793. And whatever enactments I may deem essential for this purpose, I, for one, shall certainly support, as I have done before, any bill on the subject, introduced by the Committee on the Judiciary.

It is not too much to say, that to these State laws is attributed the actual and practical denial of trial by jury in these cases. These ill-considered State laws it is, which have absolutely refused the alleged fugitive, as the case now stands, any trial by jury, by refusing those aids and facilities without which a jury trial is impossible.

But, at the same time, nothing is more false than that such jury trial is demanded in cases of this kind by the Constitution, or in the State in which the act is made. The fugitive from justice is to be delivered, on the production of an indictment, or a regular affidavit, charging the party with having committed the crime; and the fugitive from service is to be removed to the State from which he fled, upon proof, before any authorized magistrate, in the State where he may be found, either by witnesses or affidavit, that the person claimed doth owe service to the party claiming him, under the laws of the States from which he fled. In both cases the usual proceeding is to be preliminary and summary; in both cases the party is to be removed to the State from which he fled, that his liabilities and his rights may all be there regularly tried and adjudged, by the tribunals of that State according to its laws. In the case of an alleged fugitive from justice, charged with crime, it is not taken for granted, in the State to which he has fled, that he is guilty. Nor in that State is he to be tried or punished. He is only to be remitted to trial, or to the place from which he came. In the case of the alleged fugitive from service, the courts of the State in which he is arrested are not to decide, that, n. f. or in law, he does owe service to the party claiming him, under the laws of the State from which he fled. In both cases the usual proceeding is to be preliminary and summary; in both cases the party is to be removed to the State from which he fled, that his liabilities and his rights may all be there regularly tried and adjudged, by the tribunals of that State according to its laws.

The Constitution also declares, that in suits at common law, the trial by jury shall be preserved; the reclaiming of a fugitive slave is not a suit at common law; and there is no other clause or sentence in the Constitution having the least bearing on the subject.

I have seen a publication by Mr. Horace Mann, a member of Congress from Massachusetts, in which I find this sentence. Speaking of the bill before the Senate, he says: "This bill derides the trial by jury secured by the Constitution. A man may not lose his horse without a right to this trial, but he may be freedom. Mr. Webster speaks for the South and for slavery, not for the North and for freedom, when he abandons this right." This personal vituperation does not annoy me, but I lament to see a public man of Massachusetts so crude and confused in his legal apprehensions, and so little acquainted with the Constitution of his country, as these opinions evince Mr. Mann to be.

His act of a supposed case, as in point, if it have any analogy to the trial, would prove to me that Mr. Mann's horse stray into his neighbor's field, he cannot lead his back without a previous trial by jury to ascertain the right. Truly, if what Mr. Mann says of the provisions of the Constitution in this publication be to be believed, his account of the understanding of that instrument, is his account of the understanding of that instrument, he would do well not to seek to prove his peculiar notions under its sanction, but to argue at once, as others do, to that higher authority which sits enthroned above the Constitution and above the law."

This act of Congress, of the 12th of February, 1793, appears to have been well considered, and to have passed with little opposition. There is no evidence, known to me, that any body at the time regarded any of its provisions as repugnant to religion, liberty, the Constitution, or humanity. The two Senators of Massachusetts, at that time, were that distinguished legislator and patriot of our country, George Cabot; and that other citizen of Massachusetts, among the most eminent of that day, for talents, purity of character, and every virtue, Caleb Strong. Mr. Cabot, indeed, was one of the committee for preparing the bill. It appears to have passed the Senate without a division. In the House of Representatives it was supported by Mr. Goodwin, Mr. Gerry, both then, I believe, of your county of Essex, (Mr. Goodwin afterwards Vice President of the U. S., and Mr. Gerry afterwards Vice President of the U. S.), Mr. Adams, Mr. Bound, Mr. Leonard, and Mr. Seawell, all members from Massachusetts; and was passed by a majority of forty-eight to seven of these seven, one being from Virginia, one from Maryland, and one from York, and in the sixth article of that confederation which it is stipulated as follows, viz.—

"It is also agreed, that if any servant run away from his master into any other of these confederated states, that, in such cases, upon the certificate of the said magistrate, or upon other due proof, the said servant shall be delivered, either to his master, or any other that pursue, and bring such certificate or

and all costs and expenses, incurred by arresting, securing, or transmitting the fugitive, shall be paid by the State or territory making the demand. And that my agent who shall receive such fugitive into his custody shall be authorized to transport him to the State or Territory from which he fled. And any person, rescuing or setting such person at liberty, shall, on conviction, be fined not exceeding five hundred dollars, and be imprisoned not exceeding one year.

The two last sections of this law provide for the case of fugitives from justice; and they declare, that whenever the executive authority of any State or Territory shall detain any person as a fugitive from justice or the executive authority of any State or Territory to which such person shall have fled, and shall produce the copy of an indictment, or an affidavit before a magistrate, charging the person detained with having committed treason, felony or other crime, certified as authentic by the Governor or chief magistrate of the State or Territory from whence the person so charged fled, it shall be the duty of the executive authority of the State or Territory to which such person shall have fled, to cause him to be arrested or secured, and notice of the arrest to be given to the executive authority making such demand, or to the agent of such authority appointed to deliver the fugitive, and to cause the fugitive to be delivered to such agent when he shall appear; but if no such agent shall appear within six months, the prisoner may be discharged,

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Webster be regarded as noble, and fit to stand by the side of him of whom the poet sang that,

'Satan excepted, none higher sat.'

But if it requires fidelity to principle, if it requires truthfulness in the heart and goodness in the life, to make a noble man, then by the side of some of the humble and lowly of earth, let Daniel Webster hide his head in obscurity. [Cheers and hisses.]

What is the ground of the charge upon which we arraign Daniel Webster, as our friend has truly called him, as the representative of a large portion of the people of this country? We may, perhaps, by investigating that ground, and taking for granted that Daniel Webster's advocate here knows the facts of the case, arrive at some just estimate of his notions of nobility of character. [Applause.]

Daniel Webster has lately come before the nation and the world with the utterance of his sentiments upon certain very important matters. He has come avowing himself ready to support a certain measure of public policy. He has pointed to a certain bill that has been introduced into the Congress of this nation, and avowed himself ready to vote for it in all its provisions, to sustain it to its fullest extent.

The same man who, thirty years ago, stood upon Plymouth Rock, and pointing to the spot of New England which was desecrated by participation in the African slave trade, said, "Let that spot be purified, or let it cease to be of New England; let it be purified, or let it be set aside from the Christian world; let it be put out of the circle of human sympathies, and let civilized man henceforth have no communion with it;" that Daniel Webster who uttered those sentiments on the Rock of Plymouth, has now come forward to pledge himself to sustain a slave trade every whit as abominable as that African slave trade, the participants in which, according to his declaration, deserved to be shut out from human sympathy and human regard. He has said that he will vote for the bill which has justly been denominated the bill of abominations—a bill which imposes a fine of a thousand dollars and an imprisonment of six months upon the man who obeys the voice of his God, to hide the outcast, the command of his God, to feed the hungry and give water to the thirsty.

Let me tell you a case of which I have some direct information from eye-witnesses. A woman and her children came one dark and stormy night to the door of a citizen of Delaware, and knocked for admission. When that door was opened, he who stood there to ask of that woman her business, what could he do? He did what you and I would do. He bade them enter. They entered; they sat at his fire; they slept on his couch; they were sheltered under his roof. And for that he was considered as a criminal, was subjected to a heavy fine which stripped him of his property. Did that man obey or disobey the voice of his God? Would the champion of Daniel Webster have done that man did or otherwise?

Mr. Sales—If this Union hung on it, I would do anything to save the Union.

Mr. Burleigh—Let what will hang on it, if you were the owner of a habitation, and a woman and her children came in the midst of a wintry storm, and knocked at midnight on your door, would you admit them?

Mr. Sales—If that woman was to plunge the dagger in our hearts for admitting her, I would not do it.

Mr. Burleigh—I understand him to say, that under the existing circumstances (for if they are not the existing circumstances, they are not relative to the question,) he would bolt the door.

Mr. Sales—Supposing—

Mr. Burleigh—Supposing the facts as they existed, would you have admitted the woman and children? A Voice—He would keep out his grandmother.

Mr. Sales—If I knew—

Mr. Burleigh—Knowing what you do know, what would you do?

A Hibernian Voice—He would not admit his own mother.

Mr. Burleigh—My question is answered by his evasions, and not alone by him, but by the hearts of this assembly. And it is answered by this assembly as it would be by this nation. [Cheers.] As much as this nation has been corrupted and depraved by the influence of Daniel Webster and Henry Clay, as much as it has been corrupted and depraved by the influence of a pro-slavery government, not even a pro-slavery church and a pro-slavery priesthood can root out of them their duty to assist fugitives. And as I believe in a God, I am confident they never will be able to root it out altogether. You know what you would do in the case supposed; and Daniel Webster says that if you do good, if you warn them at your fire, if you shelter them under your roof, you shall be sentenced to a fine of a thousand dollars, and an imprisonment for six months.

Is Daniel Webster a noble man? ['No, no; ' 'Yes yes!'] Is the man who will vote to put you into prison for six months, because you have done an act of humanity that man a noble man? ['Yes; ' 'No.'] Then, again, that bill of abominations of which I have spoken provides that every postmaster, from the capes of Florida to the farthest corner of Minnesota, from the borders of New Brunswick to the shores of the Rio Grande, that every clerk of a United States Court, and every customs house officer of this United States government, shall be a judge of the last resort, from whose decision there shall be no appeal, of a man's right to the freedom of his intellect and his conscience, of a man's right to his wife and his children, of a man's right to his manhood, and every thing thereunto pertaining. It says that the government which upholds slavery shall appoint the judges who are to administer the pro-slavery law.

Our fathers, in the days of the great struggle with the Stuarts, could say nothing more severe than that they maintained their High Commission Courts, the judges of which were dependent on the King alone.

That was sufficient to stir up a rebellion which severed the head of Charles Stuart from his neck, and rolled his body from the bloody block; that was enough to decide the fate of dynasties and change the course of nations. And now we are to call that man a noble man, who, with his avowed abhorrence of every form of tyranny, who, with all his solemn pledges to be true to liberty under all circumstances, and in all places, and at all times, regardless of all temptations of interest and all questions of policy, that man, who, in defiance of all these pledges and professions, comes forward to maintain an institution in comparison with which the High Commission Courts of the Charles and the Jameses are the defences of liberty. [Prolonged cheers.]

Why, who of you is willing to have his right of property submitted to the decision of any postmaster or any clerk of the United States Court, or any Custom House officer, that the party against him may see fit to choose? For it is the complainant who selects him. A man comes here from Georgia to look after William and Ellen Crafts; he comes from Richmond to look after Henry Box Brown; and if the man fears that the *prejudices*, (that is the word that Daniel has in this new Webster's dictionary,) (applause,) if he fears that the *prejudices* of Massachusetts will be stronger than his claim, he may come with the postmaster of Richmond, or of Macon, Georgia, or with the clerk of the United States Court in Florida—no matter where he may come from, he may bring him here. He chooses the tribunal to try whether his brother man shall be recognised henceforward as a man, shall enjoy the rights and participate in the privileges of a man, or whether he shall be driven to unrequited toil. Are you prepared to say this is a just law? Will my friend answer that question as explicitly as he did the other? [Laughter.] Are you prepared to say that a provision by which a man's right to liberty is subjected to the fiat of an insignificant postmaster of the South—that such a provision would be just?

Mr. Sales—The postmasters obey the law.

Mr. Burleigh—But is it a just law?

Mr. Sales—I believe that is not the law.

Mr. Burleigh—Suppose it is the law.

Mr. Sales—I cannot suppose it.

Mr. Burleigh—Our friend could make suppositions as plenty as blackberries a little while ago. [Much laughter.]

Mr. Sales—That is a mere personal attack.

Mr. Burleigh—Here, then, is the ground upon which we charge Daniel Webster, in common with others, (Daniel Webster, as the representative of a class which, thank Heaven! is growing smaller and smaller every day)—[cheers and hisses]—and, under Heaven, we cannot but thank the abolitionists for that. We arraign Daniel Webster and his retainers as traitors to humanity,—the traitors most assured.

We say that they are robbing man of his rights. We say that they are robbing God's image of its dignity.

We say that they are robbing liberty and life of their safeguards.

And what heightens the iniquity, they are doing it in defiance of their pledges. They cannot advance a hair's-breadth without advancing over their own solemnly uttered sentiments. Now, what is that? I do not care for the use of terms. You may name it what you will. You may call it hypocrisy, because these men pledged themselves to a different practice; or, to excuse them from hypocrisy, you may say that they don't believe any thing different, and don't profess any thing different; then you make them the open advocates of the most horrible of abominations.

I wish to say a word about an observation that has been made here by the defender of Mr. Webster, and prefaced by an 'H.' 'If the Union,' we have been told, 'is to be endangered by that law of Christianity which calls upon us to shelter the wanderer—their of the Union of these States is to be endangered by our daring to follow the example of the apostles, who said, when they were opposed, "Whether it is right to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye."'

Then, I say unto you, in the words of the ancient Hebrew, 'Choose ye whom ye will serve;

as for me and my house, we will serve the Lord.' [Applause.]

If you choose to set up this idol god for yourselves; if you choose to take a piece of bloody parchment, tied with red tape, and, setting it up end to worship it, and exclaim, 'These be thy gods, O American Israel!' which brought thee up out of the house of British bondage; and exact of us to bow the knee and bend the neck before it, why, all we say is, worship your idol gods, and much good may it do you; but as for us, when the question comes between the Union and duty to our consciences, we say, down with your Constitution, for the sake of God and humanity. [Applause and hisses.]

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I thank you for that testimony—[to Mr. Sales, who hissed.] When I said that, our friend greeted it with a hiss. He means to say, then, Down with humanity for the sake of the Union! But I say, trample foot under foot that covenant with Hell, that agreement with Death. I say, down with the blood-stained flag of our Union, which waves over slaves and slaveholders! I say, let us be true to Him who teaches us the brotherhood of the race, and requires of us that we love our neighbors as ourselves, and do unto others as we would have others do unto us.'

• Man is more than Constitutions; better rot beneath the sod, than be true to Church and State while we are doubly false to God.' [Applause.]

The Constitution tells me to kick back the runaway slave to his master. Well, the Constitutions of other countries have required other atrocious acts; and those who have refused to obey them have been called heroes and martyrs. What, then, is he who refuses to obey this Constitution? Call him what you will, you give the name to me.

I say, if the Constitution calls upon you or me to give up the slave, every true lover of humanity is bound to refuse it obedience, and is bound to go on persevering in obedience to the higher law. I know that there are those who sneer at the idea that there is a higher law than the Constitution. But we can bide our time. Men may sneer at the superiority of sunshine to their smoky lamps, when there is only a dim light before morning; but let them wait until the clear, broad sun of day shines through the morning mists and penetrates the recesses of the earth, and then who will undertake to sneer at the god of day?

Who made the Constitution of the United States?

'We, the people.' Can we make right and wrong? Can we create the eternal distinctions which separate virtue from vice? If we can, then the Constitution which the people made is binding, let what may contravene it. But if not, and if we are not rank atheists; if we believe that there is a principle which is the foundation of justice, then your Constitutions are but the chaff of the summer threshing-floor when they oppose it. No! We deny the power of the people to create right. We deny the power of the people to change the moral essence of things. And denying that, we must appeal to a higher power.

But they say, there is your pledge in the Constitution to return fugitive slaves.

Mr. Mellen—Daniel Webster says no such thing.

Mr. Burleigh—Knowing what you do know, what would you do?

A Hibernian Voice—He would not admit his own mother.

Mr. Burleigh—My question is answered by his evasions, and not alone by him, but by the hearts of this assembly. And it is answered by this assembly as it would be by this nation. [Cheers.] As much as this nation has been corrupted and depraved by the influence of Daniel Webster and Henry Clay, as much as it has been corrupted and depraved by the influence of a pro-slavery government, not even a pro-slavery church and a pro-slavery priesthood can root out of them their duty to assist fugitives. And as I believe in a God, I am confident they never will be able to root it out altogether. You know what you would do in the case supposed; and Daniel Webster says that if you do good, if you warn them at your fire, if you shelter them under your roof, you shall be sentenced to a fine of a thousand dollars, and an imprisonment for six months.

Is Daniel Webster a noble man? ['No, no; ' 'Yes yes!'] Is the man who will vote to put you into prison for six months, because you have done an act of humanity that man a noble man? ['Yes; ' 'No.'] Then, again, that bill of abominations of which I have spoken provides that every postmaster, from the capes of Florida to the farthest corner of Minnesota, from the borders of New Brunswick to the shores of the Rio Grande, that every clerk of a United States Court, and every customs house officer of this United States government, shall be a judge of the last resort, from whose decision there shall be no appeal, of a man's right to the freedom of his intellect and his conscience, of a man's right to his wife and his children, of a man's right to his manhood, and every thing thereunto pertaining. It says that the government which upholds slavery shall appoint the judges who are to administer the pro-slavery law.

Our fathers, in the days of the great struggle with the Stuarts, could say nothing more severe than that they maintained their High Commission Courts, the judges of which were dependent on the King alone.

That was sufficient to stir up a rebellion which severed the head of Charles Stuart from his neck, and rolled his body from the bloody block; that was enough to decide the fate of dynasties and change the course of nations. And now we are to call that man a noble man, who, with his avowed abhorrence of every form of tyranny, who, with all his solemn pledges to be true to liberty under all circumstances, and in all places, and at all times, regardless of all temptations of interest and all questions of policy, that man, who, in defiance of all these pledges and professions, comes forward to maintain an institution in comparison with which the High Commission Courts of the Charles and the Jameses are the defences of liberty. [Prolonged cheers.]

Why, who of you is willing to have his right of property submitted to the decision of any postmaster or any clerk of the United States Court, or any Custom House officer, that the party against him may see fit to choose? For it is the complainant who selects him. A man comes here from Georgia to look after William and Ellen Crafts; he comes from Richmond to look after Henry Box Brown; and if the man fears that the *prejudices*, (that is the word that Daniel has in this new Webster's dictionary,) (applause,) if he fears that the *prejudices* of Massachusetts will be stronger than his claim, he may come with the postmaster of Richmond, or of Macon, Georgia, or with the clerk of the United States Court in Florida—no matter where he may come from, he may bring him here. He chooses the tribunal to try whether his brother man shall be recognised henceforward as a man, shall enjoy the rights and participate in the privileges of a man, or whether he shall be driven to unrequited toil. Are you prepared to say this is a just law? Will my friend answer that question as explicitly as he did the other? [Laughter.] Are you prepared to say that a provision by which a man's right to liberty is subjected to the fiat of an insignificant postmaster of the South—that such a provision would be just?

Mr. Sales—The postmasters obey the law.

Mr. Burleigh—But is it a just law?

Mr. Sales—I believe that is not the law.

Mr. Burleigh—Suppose it is the law.

Mr. Sales—I cannot suppose it.

Mr. Burleigh—Our friend could make suppositions as plenty as blackberries a little while ago. [Much laughter.]

Mr. Sales—That is a mere personal attack.

Mr. Burleigh—Here, then, is the ground upon which we charge Daniel Webster, in common with others, (Daniel Webster, as the representative of a class which, thank Heaven! is growing smaller and smaller every day)—[cheers and hisses]—and, under Heaven, we cannot but thank the abolitionists for that. We arraign Daniel Webster and his retainers as traitors to humanity,—the traitors most assured.

We say that they are robbing man of his rights.

We say that they are robbing God's image of its dignity.

We say that they are robbing liberty and life of their safeguards.

And what heightens the iniquity, they are doing it in defiance of their pledges. They cannot advance a hair's-breadth without advancing over their own solemnly uttered sentiments. Now, what is that? I do not care for the use of terms. You may name it what you will. You may call it hypocrisy, because these men pledged themselves to a different practice; or, to excuse them from hypocrisy, you may say that they don't believe any thing different, and don't profess any thing different; then you make them the open advocates of the most horrible of abominations.

I wish to say a word about an observation that has been made here by the defender of Mr. Webster, and prefaced by an 'H.'

'If the Union,' we have been told, 'is to be endangered by that law of Christianity which calls upon us to shelter the wanderer—their of the Union of these States is to be endangered by our daring to follow the example of the apostles, who said, "Whether it is right to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye."

Then, I say unto you, in the words of the ancient Hebrew, 'Choose ye whom ye will serve;

as for me and my house, we will serve the Lord.' [Applause.]

If you choose to set up this idol god for yourselves;

if you choose to take a piece of bloody parchment, tied with red tape, and, setting it up end to worship it, and exclaim, 'These be thy gods, O American Israel!' which brought thee up out of the house of British bondage; and exact of us to bow the knee and bend the neck before it, why, all we say is, worship your idol gods, and much good may it do you; but as for us, when the question comes between the Union and duty to our consciences, we say, down with your Constitution, for the sake of God and humanity. [Applause and hisses.]

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But I say, trample foot under foot that covenant with Hell, that agreement with Death. I say, down with the blood-stained flag of our Union, which waves over slaves and slaveholders! I say, let us be true to Him who teaches us the brotherhood of the race, and requires of us that we love our neighbors as ourselves, and do unto others as we would have others do unto us.'

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Who made the Constitution of the United States?

'We, the people.'

Can we make right and wrong?

</div

THE LIBERATOR.

Voted, on motion of W. Phillips, That the Convention will now take up the question of plans and funds for the ensuing year.

S. May, Jr., offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That this Convention recommend to the Massachusetts A. S. Society the holding of a Hundred Conventions in the New England States, for the purpose of agitating the question of slavery at the particular places it presents at this time, and especially with regard to the duty of the people of the North to refuse assistance in the rendition of fugitive slaves, and that it now proceed to take up funds and pledges for the support of this measure.

Mrs. Ann. C. Foster spoke in its support.

W. L. Garrison rebuked the reporters for the newspaper for the caricatures and false reports given to them of the Convention.

Adjourned.

WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON.

Met at 1-4 before 8, according to adjournment; the President in the chair.

Mr. Abbott, reporter for the New York Herald, made a brief statement, in consequence of what had been said of him by Mr. May, in the morning. His statement did not change the aspect of the matter, in any material particular.

Alex. Hallor, of Hopkinton, addressed the Convention. In the course of his remarks, he referred to the gross misrepresentations of the Convention given by the reporters many of the city papers.

Theodore Parker addressed the Convention, in a speech of much ability. It made a deep impression upon the Convention.

HENRY C. WRIGHT, with consent of Business Committee, introduced the following resolutions:

Resolved, That it is the right of the slave to escape from slavery, and his duty to do so whenever he thinks he can succeed in the effort.

Resolved, That the taking, by the flying slave, of my article of property really necessary for his escape from bondage is justifiable, since slavery is but a disguised state of war, and all nations have recognized this right when either party uses it in self-defense; and in no peculiar instance as slavery, a war of individual, even individual property, becomes liable; and further, in defending oneself against a nation bound to enslave you, every weapon you can snatch from your enemy's hand is lawful to use.

The discussion of the general subject was continued by Wm. A. White, of Watertown, James N. Buffum, of Lynn, Parker Pillsbury, S. S. Foster, and H. C. Wright.

On motion of Wendell Phillips, it was voted, That the Convention will now proceed to take the question upon all the resolutions now before them, excepting those relating to Hon. Daniel Webster, and the Decision on the School question.

The other Resolutions were then adopted by the Convention.

Adjourned to meet at 1-4 before 8, in Faneuil Hall.

THURSDAY EVENING.

At Northampton, and calling herself *Sojourner Truth*, She spoke half an hour, in narrating her experiences of slavery; and though in broken dialect, yet with great power and shrewdness, and most deeply interested the Convention in the story of her wrongs.

Louisa Moony of Harwich addressed the Convention with special reference to Mr. Webster.

W. C. NELL presented some resolutions passed at a meeting of the colored people of this city in relation to the recent decision of the Supreme Court of this State against their equal right to the benefits of the public schools, and invoking the aid of the members of this Convention in their endeavor to obtain from the Legislature the acknowledgement and secure enjoyment of their rights.

The following Resolutions on this subject were laid before the Convention:

Resolved, That this Convention sympathizes with the colored citizens of Boston in their efforts for the equal school rights of their children, and as friends of Justice, Humanity and Education, we pledge to them our active co-operation.

Resolved, That in the evasions, sophisms, and mere verbal subtleties of the recent decision of the Massachusetts Supreme Court, which strips the colored citizens of Boston of their clear and undeniable rights in the public schools, we see, with regret, palpable evidence that the cruel and disgraceful prejudice against color, which contaminates almost every thing American, has crept as high as the judicial Bench, and sufficed to cloud the perceptions and distort the views of those who occupy it.

Resolved, That though from weight of years and its aristocratic constitution, the Bench of our State may be beyond any direct public influence, we rejoice to remember that the public opinion at whose corrupt bidding it has filed its law in within our reach; and this consideration shall stir us to still more earnest and zealous efforts so to mould that sentiment, as to show these chiefs of the law that there is a power in the State still able and disposed, in spite of their prejudices, to carry out the first line of our Constitution, and make them recognize every man as equal before the law.

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THURSDAY EVENING.

Faneuil Hall was crowded some time before the hour appointed to commence. At 8 o'clock, the meeting was called to order by Edmund Quincy.

Some introductory remarks were made by the President, to the duty and necessity of maintaining order. No noise, said he, intended to distract and break up the meeting will be allowed. The city authorities and the abolitionists are agreed in this thing, that Boston shall not be as New York, and that a peaceful meeting of New England citizens shall not be broken up by a lawless mob.

MR. GARRISON first addressed the Convention, and (with some little exception) was heard with great attention.

PARKER PILLSBURY spoke, amidst much noise, but was enabled to speak many important truths in the hearing of the meeting.

WENDEL PHILLIPS followed in a speech of much wit and sarcasm, during which he was frequently cheered. The rioters present attempted to prevent his being heard, but several of them being removed from the Hall, Mr. Phillips proceeded and finished his speech.

The question on the remaining resolutions being then put to the Convention, they were adopted unanimously.

The Convention then adjourned, sine die.

A phonographic report of many of the speeches and the proceedings of the Convention was made, and will be published without delay.

FRANCIS JACKSON, President.

SAMUEL MAY, Jr., & ELIZA J. KINNEY, Secretaries.

THE ANNIVERSARY.

We congratulate the friends of the slave throughout the country, on the triumphant and enthusiastic manner in which our noble cause was sustained by the New England Anti-Slavery Convention, during its anniversary meetings last week, in this city. No doubt, unusual solicitude was widely felt as to the result, in consequence of the brutal and riotous invasion of similar meetings in New York; but, for the honor of Boston, we are glad to be able to announce that mobocracy does not hold the reigns of government in the capital of Massachusetts. And now for a few brief particulars—for our columns are already crowded to overflowing:

The Meetings.—Nine of them were held successively, continually increasing in numbers and interest to the end. Every other anniversary began and ended, more or less heavily, with a single meeting. Such is the eternal difference that exists between vitality and formality. Of the nine, six were held in the Melodeon, two in Cochituate Hall, and one (the last) in the old Cradle of Liberty.

The Attendance.—The anniversary of the N. E. Convention has always secured a large attendance, but this year it has far exceeded all former demonstrations on the score of numbers. The spacious Melodeon was thronged during the day; Cochituate Hall was crowded to excess during the evening, multitudes being unable to enter; and Faneuil Hall was presented as dense a mass and as grand a spectacle as was ever witnessed within its walls, not less than six thousand being present.

The Speeches.—With such able and practical speakers as Wendell Phillips, Theodore Parker, William H. Channing, Charles C. Burleigh, Adin Ballou, Parker Pillsbury, S. S. and Abby K. Foster, Henry C. Wright, James W. Walker, and William A. White, it is easy for those who were not present to imagine how stirring must have been the sentiments uttered, and how varied the eloquence displayed. All the principal speeches were reported by a skilful phonographer, (Dr. Stone,) and will be published in the Liberator as rapidly as possible; so that all those who candidly desire to know what was really said and done by the 'fanatical,' 'incendiary,' 'blasphemous' advocates of down-trodden humanity, on that occasion, may here find a correct report.

The Press.—Never before has the daily press of this city descended to such scurrilous attacks and malicious caricatures, in pretending to give a sketch of the proceedings of this Convention. The Herald, Times, Mail, Bee, Mercantile Journal, Courier, Post, tried to excel each other in ridicule, vituperation and blackguardism. In our next number, we shall give some proofs of this.

WEBSTER'S LAST LETTER. The letter of Mr. Webster, on our first page, in reply to his Newburyport endorsers, betrays a mind exasperated and desperate, and assuredly must deepen the infamy which he has invoked upon his memory. He ridicules the idea that a citizen at the North, seized on the alleged ground of being a fugitive slave, should have a jury trial, and regards a man as less valuable than a horse! He seems as anxious to be written down a villain as Dogberry was to be recorded an ass. His wicked and scurrilous accusations against the abolitionists are precisely those which were made by Bennett in his New York Herald to stir up the recent mob in that city.

THURSDAY AFTERNOON.

At the appointed hour, the Convention was called to order by Edmund Quincy.

Mr. Garrison introduced to the audience a colored woman, formerly a slave named Isabel, now residing

PLEDGES

Made at the New England Anti-Slavery Convention, in behalf of the One Hundred Conventions; to be paid to the Mass. Anti-Slavery Society.		
Weymouth Female Anti-Slavery Society, by		\$25 00
Mrs. Hunt,		5 00
D. S. Whitney, Beverly,		5 00
B. F. Burgess, Boston,		5 00
Francis Jackson,		200 00
Wendell Phillips,		200 00
George P. Avery,		100 00
Reuben H. Ober,		5 00
William Shore,		5 00
Jonas G. Clark,		5 00
George M. Chapman,		10 00
Nathaniel Stone, Watertown,		2 00
Thomas H. Jones,		1 00
J. G. Dodge,		1 00
Samuel Philbrick,		100 00
Asher Sanger,		25 00
Bourne Spooner,		25 00
Edmund Jackson,		75 00
H. Farley, Lowell,		1 00
Charles Parker,		5 00
J. H. Easton,		2 00
J. Easton,		100 00
Abington, friends in,		1 00
Edwin C. Smith,		5 00
Mrs. Smith, Plainfield, Ct.		1 00

DONATIONS

To the New England A. S. Convention, for the Hundred Conventions.		
James N. Buffum, Lynn,	\$25 00	
Elizabeth A. Weston, Boston,	10 00	
Jones G. Clark,	5 00	
Patrick F. Slane,	5 00	
Samuel Barrett, Concord,	5 00	
John May, Jr., Leicester,	5 00	
William Ashby, Newburyport,	5 00	
Elijah Thayer, Blackstone,	5 00	
Johnson Davey, Plymouth,	5 00	
Benjamin A. Stevens, Lawrence,	5 00	
John H. Morrill, Portland,	5 00	
John C. Gore, Roxbury,	5 00	
A Friend,	5 00	
M. & E. Stowell, Worcester,	2 00	
N. North Bellington, 76c.—Mr. Bell, 25c.	1 00	
H. W. Carter, Athol,	1 00	
W. H. Wood,	1 00	

COLLECTIONS

By Finance Committee, to meet expenses of New England Anti-Slavery Convention, May, 1850.		
John Bailey	\$1 00	Thomas H Jones
D Y Kendall	0 25	Matilda Darling
J Russell	0 60	Mrs Darling
Wm B Elliott	1 00	Rufus Bates
T. D. Buckingham	1 00	Jacob Noyes
Wm. C. Burleigh	0 50	Richard Clapp
Wm. Sparrell	0 50	Stephen L. Ober
Mis Fletcher	0 12	S. J. Fuller
C Houghton	1 00	Wm. Smith
H B Brigham	0 50	Johnson Davey
Goo Studley	0 50	John Shorer
Lewis Haydon	1 00	Lucius Ford
C K Whipple	1 00	Rebecca Pool
B F Burgess	1 00	Dr York
Miss Southwick	1 00	W L Garrison
Jane Bell	0 25	F Hinckley
D S Whitney	0 50	Wm Jenkins
Samuel Dyer	1 00	E L Hammond
Eldridge Sprague	1 00	G H Worth
Francis Jackson	0 50	E C Smith
Samuel May, Jr.	1 00	Wm Boynton
Wm. A. Foster	1 00	E Thayer
Calvin Fairbank	1 00	Peter Libby
S H Gay	1 00	Alma T. Bennett
W S Brown	0 50	Almira A. Fay
E Quincy	1 00	Wm Porter
H C Fifield	1 00	J T Everett
I S Beans	0 50	Isaiah C Ray
D B Smith	0 50	John Fisk
Anne W. Weston	0 25	D P Harmon
Anna Ford	0 25	Henrietta Sargent
H B Spooner	1 00	Robert B. Rogers
Sarah Holmes	0 50	Dr Lewis
Wm. Ashby	1 00	Wm H Channing
Mrs. A. Spooner	0 50	T Hilton
A. K. Knobedge	1 00	Mary C. Chapman
Samuel Baldwin	0 50	Geo W. Simonds
Martha Smith	1 00	Almer Sanger
John M. Spear	0 50	Samuel Barrett
A. R. Pope	1 00	Moses Wright
G. W. Rogers	0 50	Henry Moody
John C. Quigley	1 00	Charles Russell
Wm. H. Ballou	0 50	Adin Ballou
Edmund Shaw	1 00	Oliver Dennett
Alfred Wyman	1 00	Nathan Webster
Josiah Jocelyn	1 00	Joshua Perry
E. L. Capron	1 00	P. W. Davis
Eliza W. Williams	1 00	Samuel Noah
Martha O'Barrett	0 50	M. Smith
Gertie Barrett	0 50	Wm. C. Burleigh
John C. Quigley	1 00	C. Cowling
Wm. H. Ballou	0 50	Wm. C. Burleigh
Wm. H. Ballou	0 50	



Reformatory.

From the Ohio Anti-Slavery Bugle.

AN ADDRESS

DELIVERED BEFORE THE OHIO WOMEN'S CONVENTION, AT SALEM, APRIL 19, 1850.

BY J. ELIZABETH JONES.

[Concluded.]

Ichabod means 'Webster,' of course.

For the Liberator.

ICHABOD!

REPLY TO WHITTIER.

He sinned when light, a brilliant light,

Shone on his path:

Now admiration of his might

Is changed to wrath!

'Revile him not!' Whom God hath cursed,

Him can we bless?

Or spare our 'tears' for him? No! first,

Let him confess!

When God's own truth shines in the way,

'The Tempter's snare'

Lie open to the light of day—

Fall, then, who dares!

We 'do well to be angry,' when

A mighty man

Would sacrifice his fellow-men

To serve his plan!

When such a man turns fiend, our 'scorn'

Should blase his fame!

And generations yet unborn

Should curse his name!

We 'humiled' by his fall? Not we!

Is he a slave?

'Tis his own choice—he might be free—

'Chains' did he crave!

OLD COLONY.

Plymouth, May 25, 1850.

TO DANIEL WEBSTER.

And so thou com'st to this, at last!

With wings that might have soared

To heights where dwelt the sainted few,

By human kind adored.

Thou stoop'st in Freedom's Council Hall,

By Vernon's hallowed grave,

To be that meanest thing of earth,

A voluntary slave.

O mightiest of her champions!

In Freedom's trial hour,

When on thy lips the nation hung,

For words of truth and power,

How didst thou dare betray the trust

They rice reproach in thee,

And barker for Oppression's smile

The birthright of the Free?

Thou on whose broad, expansive brow

The seal of strength is set,

In lines whose proud significance

Was never questioned yet;

Where was thy pride of manhood, when

They heard st' th' ignoble crowd,

The hateful spawn of tyranny,

Applaud thee long and loud?

Didst thou remember where thou wert,

Or think how strange the sight?

To see that slaves multitude

Proclaim the right in the right?

And when they crowded thickly round,

Upon thy shame to gloat,

And press thy hand, say, did not feel

They stomach in thy throat?

They say thou shalt be President—

God help thee if thou art!

For how the robe thy shame obtained,

Must freeze thy very heart!

Yet do not set thy heart on this,

For tyrants oft betray:

They love us a traitor knave,

Then fling him loathed, away.

What cared the Priests for Judas, with

The Savior in their clutch?

And did not England's traitor shrink

From Arnold's traitor touch?

Perchance a late example moved

Strong envy in the breast,

And thou art all agog to be

The Georgeby of the West!

Thou dost not deem it best, forsooth,

To re-enact God's will!

What wouldst thou have—the Devil's, then?

Or Slavery's base still?

Our fathers braved the wintry sea—

Can't tell us for what cause,

If not to make the 'will of God.'

The soul of human law?

All! when thou stoo'dst, in other years,

On that old Rock where trod

The men who sought the pathless wild

For room to worship God,

How cur'd thy lip in scorn of those

At Slavery's shrine that bow!

But Freedom cannot pay as well

As Slavery offers, now!

Dost think the shrewd, fair-sighted men,

That till New England's vale,

Will sit and let thee cheat them with

Such idle nursery tales?

Dost think they can unlearn so soon

The lessons thou hast taught?

That they are geudons all, because

Thou choosest to be caught?

Thou cou'dst not leave it to the Jew,

The sound of flesh to claim;

But needs must volunteer to speak

Thy country's burning shame I

And shall thy falsehoods make it sin

The panting slave to aid?

Go home and seize thy letters, and

Betake thee to thy trade!

When the fate of half a continent

Hung trembling in the scale,

With what nice skill thy practic eye

Discerned the time to fail?

And how it swelled the slaver's heart

To hear, in that high hall,

Thy lips declare that half the land

Was his beyond recall!

And even then, when thou hadst laid

Thy manhood and thy pride

Upon the whip-bond's bloody shrine,

Instate, still he cried;

The toasted champion of the free

Must kneel and humbly say,

That there in Freedom's capitol

The chain shall clank for ay!

What though eight hundred mamonians

The voice of welcome raise,

Can sounds like these require the well,

For a nation's honest praise!

O yes! for well accepted drafts,

And slavery's rabble shout,

Those art content to serve thy lords,

And let them farm thee out.

TO A FALLEN SENATOR.

Oh Daniel, oh Daniel, your face being dough,

Look out for your cake—it will be equally so!

The Yankees won't send you to Congress again;

By Slavery you're shorn, and politically slain.

Had you, like your name-sake, that bold seer of old,

Who never would bow to the image of gold,

Such soul for the right and Humanity's cause,

He would have been a true son of old.

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